

brand of capitalism practiced by the Suharto regime, undermining its legitimacy and emboldening the opposition.

Whether the IMF, in the end, is seen as a villain that provoked widespread suffering or a catalyst for constructive change depends largely on what happens in Indonesia over the coming weeks and months.

IMF critics, led by outspoken Harvard University economist Jeffrey Sachs whose Harvard institute has long been an adviser to Indonesia, have been warning for months that the U.S.-backed IMF prescription was harsh and counterproductive. "The IMF program was really badly designed and made a bad situation worse," says Steven Radelet, a Sachs colleague.

Malaysian Prime Minister Mahathir Mohamad also blames the IMF for worsening Indonesia's problems. "The IMF is not sensitive to the social cost of economic restructuring," he said, according to Malaysia's official news agency.

But the Indonesian government hurt itself, too. It backtracked on pledges it made publicly to the IMF, undermining the confidence of both domestic and foreign investors. It vowed to dismantle unpopular arrangements that enriched Suharto cronies, but then rebuilt them under different names. And, at a pivotal moment, it flirted with a controversial currency-board approach to monetary policy. After a parade of international leaders pressured Indonesia to live up to its agreements, Mr. Suharto relented, underscoring his weakness to the newly emboldened opposition.

Then earlier this month, Mr. Suharto's new cabinet ministers changed direction and implemented IMF-backed increases in fuel prices much faster than the IMF demanded, sparking the recent riots. Although the IMF program allowed for the increases to be spread out over a month, some prices soared as much as 70% overnight. "We didn't set a precise date for [removing subsidies]. The date was chosen by the government," an IMF official says.

Despite occasional misgivings about some elements of the IMF approach, the Clinton administration strongly defends the fund. "The IMF didn't create the Indonesian economic and political crisis," says Mr. Clinton's national security adviser, Sandy Berger. "Indonesia created the economic and political crisis. The International Monetary Fund came in to try to help restore stability and put it on a path back towards growth."

At their annual summit this weekend, leaders of the Group of Seven large industrial nations and Russia, put the onus on the Suharto government. "Successful economic reform and international support for it will require political and social stability," they said in a statement, and urged the Indonesian government to open a dialogue with opposition leaders over reforms that address "the aspirations of the Indonesian people."

Inside the IMF, some argue that the fund's willingness to confront not only fiscal and financial policy issues, but also the corruption of the Suharto regime, is hastening long-overdue social change. Indeed, IMF programs in Korea and Thailand, they argue, may be succeeding precisely because they coincide with political reforms—a new democratic government in Seoul, constitutional reforms in Bangkok. Mr. Suharto's departure wouldn't be mourned at the IMF.

But it's also clear that IMF advice failed to revive the Indonesian economy and may have worsened a bad situation. Last year's demand that Indonesia close 16 troubled banks—meant a signal that the government was finally addressing problems in the financial sector—backfired. Depositors pulled funds out of other banks, further weakening the system.

Harvard's Mr. Radelet said the IMF's emphasis on ending monopolies and closing government projects that are owned by friends and family of Mr. Suharto didn't address some fundamental economic problems. For months, for instance, the fund did little to help restructure Indonesian companies' huge foreign debt, which prevents them from getting the added financing needed to run their businesses and from taking advantage of a weak currency to increase exports.

The IMF has until early June to decide whether to disburse another \$1 billion to Indonesia, as part of a \$43 billion bailout package it cobbled together for the nation. Indonesian authorities have said they plan to roll back some of the price increases that sparked riots. But that by itself isn't expected to put the IMF's added lending in jeopardy.

#### TRIBUTE TO THE HONORABLE JENNINGS RANDOLPH

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. PETRI). Under the Speaker's announced policy of January 21, 1997, the gentleman from West Virginia (Mr. RAHALL) is recognized during morning hour debates for 4 minutes.

Mr. RAHALL. Mr. Speaker, on May 8 this year, the Nation lost a great man, a former U.S. Senator, a beloved West Virginian, a great orator, a man of civility and courtesy, a master of the legislative compromise, a builder of concrete, asphalt and stone, and a builder of character named Jennings Randolph, who died at the grand old age of 96.

When Senator Randolph passed on, it was truly the end of an era. He was the last living Member of Congress from the New Deal era, making him the last of the New Deal legislators who voted to enact the Social Security System and a minimum wage.

On May 11 of this year, had he lived, Senator Randolph would have marked the 65th anniversary of his freshman speech on the floor of the House. He spoke on the subject of Mother's Day, an event founded by fellow West Virginian Anna Jarvis, and his speech, an eloquent one, was entitled, "The Unapplauded Molders of Men". This speech was given on the 69th day of Roosevelt's famous first 100 days, and on that day Jennings Randolph the great orator was born.

As many of my colleagues will know, it was Senator Randolph who began, during his House tenure, to amend the Constitution to allow 18-year-olds to vote. He succeeded in this endeavor in 1972, as a U.S. Senator, with the 21st Amendment to the Constitution, the first and only constitutional amendment that took a mere 90 days to achieve ratification by the requisite number of States and to become the law of the land.

At one time, I am told, he forced then-President Nixon to spend the funds appropriated for the interstate system by filing an injunction against Nixon's practice of impounding the funds, keeping them from being spent. It was in the 1974 budget act that impounding funds by a President was first restricted.

Jennings Randolph would be proud of our every effort, Mr. Speaker, and success this very day in freeing some of the collected motorists' gas taxes and spending them on transportation needs. Yes, J.R., we will one day restore trust to our Highway Trust Funds.

I would like to tell my colleagues a little something about the Senator's lifelong public service, that we have seen little written about of recent date. Having traveled so often with the Senator, many times late at night in a very small plane, two or four-passenger plane, sometimes through very stormy weather, the first comment the Senator would make upon landing was "Where is the telephone?". I would be thinking of other places to visit but the Senator was always wanting to keep in touch with the people.

Senator Randolph was known for his devotion to people and his compassion for all people in need. He coauthored the Randolph-Shepherd Act for the Blind, giving blind persons the opportunity and the right to be employed and have the dignity of a paycheck. The blind are still benefiting from that effort today.

He fought for and maintained the Black Lung Benefits Act throughout his public life in the Senate. Once, when he was being chastised by some of his Coal Mining constituents because the Black Lung benefits bill was then languishing in the Senate with no action being taken, Senator Randolph quietly but firmly said: There are only 18 coal mining states in the Union. Those 36 Senators are going to vote for this legislation. Persuading 64 other Senators representing non-coal mining states that their constituents should or must allow their tax dollars to be used to pay for the benefits for workers in other States is not an easy matter to accomplish. It takes time. And I pay those 64 Senators the courtesy of approaching them one on one, personally, to discuss the plight of coal miners with black lung disease, and their need for disability compensation for themselves and, for those who have died, their widows and orphans. He told them "it will get done \* \* \*" And it did.

Senator Randolph, concerned for the plight of mentally and physically disabled children and concerned over their lack of an appropriate education, established the first Subcommittee on the Handicapped in the Senate, and he chaired that Subcommittee with passion and the courage of his beliefs as he authored and guided to enactment the Education for all Handicapped Children Act. Today, the Special Education law is working to mainstream disabled children into regular classrooms with their peers across this Nation in every school building getting a free and equal education to which all children are entitled.

It was Senator Randolph, with his great love for airplanes and aviation, who first proposed the establishment of the National Air and Space Museum. When he first proposed it, of course, the space age hadn't been ushered in yet—and so when asked to give the Dedication speech for the new Museum, Randolph remarked that it took so long to get Congress to act on his proposed aviation museum, they had to add the word "space" to its name.

And it was Senator Jennings Randolph who, with another licensed pilot aboard, flew the

first coal-fueled aircraft from Morgantown, West Virginia to National airport. Senator Randolph was always looking for ways in which coal mined by his coal-mining constituents could be used to help strengthen and stabilize the economic base of his beloved State of West Virginia.

And finally, but never lastly, the Senator realized his long held dream of establishing a peace-arm of the U.S. Government. Serving under Roosevelt when the Nation was drawn into World War II, Randolph believed that the U.S. Government ought to have a Peace Department since it had a War Department (the War Department was changed to the Defense Department in 1948, the year after Randolph left the House). It took him from 1943 to 1984—41 years—but the last legislative initiative he authored and guided to enactment was the creation of the U.S. Institute for Peace, a still vital, thriving institution devoted to the waging of peace, not war.

Speaking of the U.S. Institute of Peace, the Senate's consideration of the legislation in 1984 was not an easy road. Some of the more conservative Members accused him of creating an institution that would attract communists and become a possible security risk. And one Member went so far as to call Senator Randolph the "Jane Fonda" of the Senate. Randolph did not respond to the charges, of course, for that was not his way. But he did try to get President Reagan to support his Peace Institute bill.

One day, when the Labor and Public Welfare Committee in the Senate was about to vote on whether to waive the budget act so that the Randolph Peace Institute bill could come to the floor for a vote, President Reagan called Senator Randolph. The Senator gently but firmly said to the Committee Clerk: Please tell the President I am busy here. I will have to call him back." In about 15 minutes the Committee had voted favorably on the budget waiver Senator Randolph needed, and he then turned to the Clerk and said: Please get the President for me, I can talk with him now. To which the Clerk replied: The White House is still on the line, Senator, waiting for you to finish.

Randolph still did not get the President to endorse his bill, but he spoke with him about why he should do so.

As I conclude, Mr. Speaker, I quote from Senator Randolph's maiden speech on the House floor in 1933, when he said,

Volumes have been written about kings and emperors; historians have told of the exploits of a thousand heroes of battle; biographers have packed into colorful words the life and death of our statesmen; while painters have filled galleries with the likenesses of our living great.

Some day, some enterprising young scholar will write volumes about Jennings Randolph, and historians will tell of his exploits, and biographers will pack many colorful words about the life of this mighty statesman from West Virginia, Jennings Randolph.

#### INTRODUCTION OF AUTO CHOICE REFORM ACT

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under the Speaker's announced policy of January 21, 1997, the gentleman from

Texas (Mr. ARMEY) is recognized during morning hour debates for 2 minutes.

Mr. ARMEY. Mr. Speaker, tomorrow the Subcommittee on Finance and Hazardous Materials of the Committee on Commerce will hold a hearing on my bill, the Auto Choice Reform Act, which will cut auto insurance premiums by 24 percent and save American drivers \$193 billion over 5 years.

Today we are forced to pay more than is necessary for auto liability insurance in order to be eligible to play the tort lottery, whether we want to or not. Some people see this lottery as a way to hit the jackpot. They exaggerate their real damages in order to sue for huge noneconomic damage awards. This fraud and abuse, as well as the excessive lawsuits, have helped drive up the cost of auto insurance and have led to the undercompensation of seriously injured victims.

Auto Choice addresses these problems by giving American drivers a choice in the kind of insurance they can buy. Under Auto Choice they can stay in the tort system or they can opt to collect their actual losses from their own insurance company and forego suits for economic damages. In exchange, they will see lower premiums and better compensation.

Americans should be free to buy the auto insurance policy that best fits their needs. Auto Choice gives them this freedom.

#### THE ARMENIAN JOURNEY TO WORCESTER

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under the Speaker's announced policy of January 21, 1997, the gentleman from Massachusetts (Mr. MCGOVERN) is recognized during morning hour debates for 1 minute.

Mr. MCGOVERN. Mr. Speaker, on Sunday I had the privilege to welcome to Worcester, Massachusetts, His Holiness Karekin I, Supreme Patriarch and Catholicos of all Armenians.

Also present were Worcester Mayor Raymond Mariano; Massachusetts Governor Paul Celluci; Archbishop Khajag Barsamian, Primate of the Diocese of the Armenian Church of America; Reverent Father Aved Terzian, Pastor of the Armenian Church of our Savior; and many other ecumenical and governmental officials.

Worcester is a fitting site to welcome his Holiness on his Pontifical visit to celebrate the centennial of the Armenian church in the United States. In 1891, the Armenian Church of our Savior on Salisbury Street in Worcester was the first Armenian church founded in the United States.

Today, over 1,400 Armenian Americans reside in the Third Congressional District of Massachusetts. The history of their journeys to America is a proud and important part of our community heritage.

These stories were recently highlighted in a published story in the Worcester Magazine entitled, "The Ar-

menian Journey to Worcester". In honor of the visit of his Holiness to Worcester, I include the story in the RECORD:

[From Worcester Magazine, Apr. 29, 1998]

THE ARMENIAN JOURNEY TO WORCESTER

(By Clare Karis)

"Who today remembers the extermination of the Armenians?" Adolf Hitler's ominous words, spoken on the eve of his invasion of Poland on Aug. 22, 1939, launched his six-year extermination of 6 million Jews and 7 million others. His reasoning, unconscionable as it was, was chillingly clear: Not much attention was paid to that genocide, surely we can up the count this time.

Nearly 60 years later, the average American knows little of the Armenian Genocide. But that blood-soaked page of history is seared indelibly into the memories of those who survived. Those who saw their own mothers doused with kerosene and set on fire. Those who saw their brothers beheaded. Those who saw their families, one by one, drop starved and exhausted to the burning desert sands. Those who saw a river run red with blood. Those who, by whatever twist of fate or fortune, escaped with their lives.

But those survivors' numbers are fast dwindling. Children who witnessed the Armenian Genocide of 1915 are now 90 or so. And as the corps of survivors is reduced, so too is the chance that the story will be documented, recorded and passed on—and heeded.

"Those who cannot remember the past are condemned to repeat it." George Santayana's prophecy, inscribed in the atrium of the Simon Wiesenthal Center in Los Angeles, is darkly telling on the 83rd anniversary of the genocide, which began April 24, 1915, and before its end claimed the lives of up to 2 million Armenians.

A goodly number of the diaspora settled in Worcester. The Armenians equated the city with America; they would say, "Worcester is America." A strong and insular Armenian community sprang up in the Laurel Hill neighborhood, which reminded the emigres of the sun-splashed hills and valleys of their beloved homeland. That neighborhood was known as "Little Armenia"; after housing became scarce there the population spilled out onto nearby streets—Chandler, Bancroft, Pleasant, May, Irving—to become the colony "Big Armenia." It was a joyful day for the God-fearing tempest-tossed when the Laurel Street Church opened its doors for worship and community gatherings.

The survivors live each day with their memories. Their ears echo even now with the sound of an ax splitting a door, bullets whistling through the air, a baby crying over its mother's body. Their unrelenting mind's eye flashes back and then fast-forwards—like jump cuts in a macabre film noir—to and from images that can never be forgotten.

For some eyewitnesses, the memories run clear and pure as a mountain stream. For others, the waters have muddied; images have begun to dim and blur and overlap until it's hard to separate what happened eight decades ago from yesterday's daydream or last week's nightmare. One of our chroniclers, Dr. George Ogden, is very careful to say that he can't be quite sure that all he remembers today happened exactly the way he thinks it did. It was a lifetime ago, after all, and he was just a little boy. But how can he forget being dragged to a police station and having his hands flayed until they bled because he hummed a patriotic song?

In the book *Black Dog of Fate*, a cousin of author Peter Balakian gives this account of what she saw along the Euphrates. "We were delirious from hunger and thirst. We picked seed out of the camel dung and cleaned them